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consumption was limited (1).

1. Father Giannechini (Diccionario Chiriguano-Espagnol, etc., pp. 169-170) gives us very interesting details on this topic. Formerly, says he, tobacco was reserved for magicians and adults. He states that even today where its use is most widespread it is cultivated on only a very small scale. The Chiriguano do not have the patience to let it ripen and dry it over the fire in order to be able to smoke it.

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When they were called to a sick person, the medicine men used to put themselves in a trance by smoking ever so much. By this means they discovered the author of the illness and gave him battle.

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We shall see farther along (p. 76) the role of tobacco in the magical ceremonies intended to make rain fall.

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At harvest time I visited the lands cultivated by the Indians of the Caruruti region in Caipipendi valley. From the end of February to the month of April, the Indians rarely spend the day at home. Most of the time they go to settle down in their fields, leaving the village as soon as the corn begins to ripen, not to return until the /340/ end of the harvest. The [351] house of the absentees is made safe from all foreign intrusion by thorn hedges which they raise all around or only in front of the door. The latter can also be closed by a cot or bedstead, which they put up against it and anchor solidly (Fig. 6). 2/1

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This temporary migration of the whole population of a village to the fields sometimes made my job as a collector rather difficult. It /Fig. 7 appears here/ often happened that I found myself in nearly empty villages. The rare Indians who had remained there refused obstinately, and rightly, to sell me the objects which interested me, if they belonged to an absent person.

2/1 [Fig 6 appears on p. 69--Analyst]

/480 cont./
Fig. 16) was present at an analogous treatment also practiced /481/ by a medicine woman on a child at Yumbia, not far from the Salado. She rubbed him and blew on his body (1).

1. In the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, etc. (p. 72), we find the word hunga translated "to rub, to massage" and the sentence Iiyari ĭerungarunga tein, iróí á ĭe with the following meaning: "My grandmother rubbed me enough, but I did not get well." The medicine women, add the authors of the dictionary, use the word hunga to express the act of rubbing with the hand any painful part of the body, especially the chest, without any remedy other than the saliva they spit on their hand. These women attribute a special virtue to saliva.

The sick boy's father told me that, once suffering from prolonged headaches, he had had recourse to a sorceress, an old woman with woolly hair, who was called the Samba. She sucked the place where the ache was localized and drew out worms from it. The half-breed got well, of course.

In the toldería of Ñawirenda, where there was a child ill with fever, his mother had made him eat crushed garrapatas (ticks). The unfortunate child's lips were purple from it.

I shall devote a special study to Chiriguano medicine men in a future volume of this Review. Meanwhile I shall limit myself to describing, according to the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano (pp. 166-167), the way in which these powerful personages customarily proceed when they are called to the bedside of a sick person. I am forced to have recourse to the observations made by another for lack of having been able to be present myself at the spectacle which Father Giannechini evokes with as much accuracy as vivacity. The great Chiriguano paye are now all in the Ivoka where they take

/481 cont./

●755 care of the dead and no more will any ethnographer have the
756 privilege of being present at their payeries.

"When an Indian is gravely ill, his relatives hasten to call a medicine man whose first duty is to hold an inquest on the origins of the illness. He asks his patient whether the symptoms of his infirmity did not coincide with a festival, whether he does not have a particular enemy, or whether his wife or children have not had a quarrel with one of their neighbors. When the sorcerer has received an answer to all these questions, he begins to make grimaces, to toss his head, to put on an afflicted air, and ends up by enunciating in an emphatic tone the result of his diagnosis: Šinu, yavái ǰa! aramói mbayaši umée kianunga ndeve! 'My friend, this is serious, someone has perhaps poisoned you.' Yaheša tu. 'We shall see.'

"Then he asks for tobacco, fills his pipe, and smokes. When he has finished, he immediately begins again and continues to smoke.... He becomes sad, loses the power of speech, throws convulsive looks in every direction, makes gestures as if he were trying to put phantoms to flight, faints, agonizes.... Poor sorcerer, he seems dead.... No, the imposter lives... yes, he lives and he is recovering consciousness. /482/ 'Yes,' he says to the sick person, 'I know the author of your illness, he who through hate or in a spirit of revenge is trying to take you away from your children, to throw your wife and relatives into mourning and grief. It is so-and-so.... I have seen him, I have had to struggle with him and I am almost dead. Have confidence, I have conquered him: You will not die.'

756 "Then the sorcerer demands his honorarium, which consists of ponchos, cows, horses, etc., which the sick man's relatives dare not refuse him for fear of being in turn victims of his magic power. Entire families have been seen ruined in order to pay for the trickeries of the sorcerers.

"If the sick man dies, the sorcerer has no trouble finding an /Fig. 137 appears here/ excuse, but sometimes he has to give back part of the goods he has received in payment."

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

The shamans (ipaye) enjoyed considerable prestige. When invited by a village to assist its inhabitants in some predicament, they were received with marks of great respect and were lavishly entertained. They served the community as rain makers and as doctors. In the latter capacity, they treated patients or protected the whole village against epidemics. Their curing technique followed the usual South American pattern of blowing and sucking the sick person. They retired to small cabins to communicate with spirits. Blowing tobacco smoke played a large part in the shamanistic ritual. The medicine men were expected to discover the evil charms that threatened the individual or the community as a whole. Shamans were often put to death for their failure to bring rain or to dispel an epidemic. Old women were often called to cure diseases which required the administration of drugs.

During carnivals, which, under the Bolivian influence, have become a period of wild rejoicing, young men wearing masks (pl. 44) of soft wood amuse the spectators by their antics and tricks. As the best masks are those carved by the *Chané*, it is likely that the clown interludes are survivals of dances by masked persons representing nature spirits or ghosts, such as are performed by many *Arawak* tribes. The *Chané* and *Chiriguano* masked characters collect food and depart amid the tears of old people.

MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

Cosmogony.—The Sun is a man and the Moon is his wife. In the evening the Sun enters a river which he follows until he rises again. An eclipse of the Sun or of the Moon is caused by the attack of a "purple" or "yellow" jaguar. Everybody then makes as much noise as possible to frighten off the celestial feline.

The appearance of the Pleiades, which the *Chiriguano* call "a swarm of bees," announces the harvest season. Their yearly course serves also to reckon time. The *Chiriguano* identify Scorpio with a fenced field, in the center of which is the miraculous spade of Aguara-tumpa. In the black skies near the Milky Way (the road of the rhea), they see a celestial ostrich (rhea), the head of which is the Southern Cross. The Magellanic Clouds are the ashes of a fire built by a couple who went to the sky. (See Lehmann-Nitsche, 1924.)

Folklore.—Most of the *Chiriguano* folklore recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912) was obtained from a *Chané* of the Parapetí River region. The collection of myths and tales made by Métraux (1930 b) in *Chiriguano* villages shows that both groups, in spite of their different origin, share substantially in the same folklore. Certain motifs in the *Chané* version, however, have not been recorded among their ancient *Chiriguano* masters, and may well be *Arawak* traditions which have survived among them. An example is the theme, which is well known in the Guianas, of the

/148 cont./

754 them life would be delightful and eternal here on earth where
76 God put him, as has been seen when we were dealing with the creation.

754 The same might be said of sickness. If there is something
753 the matter with a foot, the head, the stomach, or any other part of the body, they do not blame human nature, the elements, the seasons, the sudden changes of the atmosphere so common in the region, but bad sorcerers. If someone dies suddenly, if the old and the young die, if smallpox breaks out in the village, or any other epidemic, it is always blamed on the evil sorcerers (1).

[761] 1. If someone dies because he has drunk in someone else's house, they attribute it to poison administered by sorcery. Death produced by falls, suicide, or murder is not attributed to the sorcerer.

756 Some sorcerers are best for rain and for the fields, and others
622 for illness. If some contagious disease begins to spread around a
623 Chiriguano town or if in the town itself one case or another has
643 appeared, the principle cacique convokes a council of all of
571 the lower caciques: they discuss the appropriate measures to
731 be instituted in order to chase away the sickness at once. The
● 755 first thing they do is to call one of the well-known sorcerers. Then a commission is formed to take the entreaty to the great charlatan, and usually the one charged with this is the head cacique himself, who is accompanied by one or two of the lower caciques.

755 The sorcerer receives the cacique's invitation as a very
756 great honor, and furthermore, hearing the offers they make
554 him if he manages to drive away or expel the epidemic, there
731 is no idiot who would reject it, since the sorcerer in another town is king for the whole time that he stays there. Everything is at his disposal, men and women, goods /142/ and clothing, food and drink. He spends a better life than that of a great lord (1).

1. The one who explains the object of the

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755 756 554 731 embassy to the sorcerer is the cacique, and his companions limit themselves to saying Afiete. that is how it is, just as the altar boy or sacristan says amen.

756 554 574 731 [771] Of course, his arrival is awaited anxiously. All surround him in order to welcome him and give him demonstrations of affection. There is no family which will not bring him whatever it can so that he may cure well. Cooked chickens, boiled eggs, live lambs, and plenty of chicha are all presents for the great rascal. All of this is still done for any sorcerer.

755 756 731 After a short rest, a good meal, and better refreshments, the sorcerer opens his ceremonial with numerous questions in order to try to discover who brought the epidemic to the town, in case it has come in already. If so, he continues in this way and his exorcisms are daily, general for the town, and special for each sick person, as I shall say farther on.

But if the sickness has not come in, he gathers together all of the principal men, they make cigars of tobacco wrapped in maize husks, gather in a circle, light the cigars, and blow smoke in every direction, the sorcerer observing which way the smoke is going. When the location is more or less known, they all go there, club in hand. The sorcerer makes a small excavation and takes from it the charm which he has put there beforehand without being seen: it consists of old, dirty rags mixed with hairs and small bones. Then he burns all that in the presence of the company, strikes the ground with his club and feet, being imitated by all (2).

2. It is not uncommon that the sorcerers themselves take the clothing of persons with smallpox from one town to another in order that the contagion may spread and that they may have some pretext for profit and a life full of gifts.

/149 cont./

755 This done, they return to the town with an air of triumph
756 and pass through all of it, raining blows with their clubs on the
731 corners of the plaza and the houses of the most notable persons,
and, the performance ended, he directs his discourse to those who surround him and the others who have come out of their houses. He tells them that they must not be afraid and that they should have confidence in him, for the illness over which he is the master has been dispelled.

He then takes a rest from his labors for several days, takes his leave of the cacique and the principal men, blessed by the frightened inhabitants, and returns to his town. Anyone can understand that, if there is no epidemic, it is a coincidence which will give considerable renown to the rascally impostor, and, if there is one, the blame falls on the townspeople or on some other /150/ bad sorcerer. Then he returns and becomes the healer for all of them. In smallpox epidemics the sorcerer is always one who has had it and who as a sad sign thereof has his face and his nose covered with pox.

755 In the first months after I arrived at the Santa Rosa Mission,
756 an epidemic began to break out; without my realizing what was
731 happening, exorcisms against the smallpox were being carried
144 out by the sorcerer Biringa, but as this disease had thoroughly invaded the town by the end of the year, he returned and paid well for his deceits; his threats that he would make the 255 male students of the school perish were of no avail since both they and the female students became sick, but only one of the boys and seven of the girls died (1).

1. The girls of the Santa Rosa school numbered 735 in the year of the smallpox; those who were dangerously sick received the viaticum before they were taken to the lazaretto. Those about to die even received Extreme Unction in the lazaretto. In January of 1904 there were more than 500 persons in the latter.

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756 789 731 821 [197] Even for rain the sorcerers perform their incantations with their maize-husk cigar, making a turn in the planted fields, but if the drought is general, the incantations are public performed in the town in front of the house of the principal cacique. One of these was performed in the early days of the above-mentioned mission. The missionary had admonished them to stop it, but when they answered insolently, he formed or organized a commission with shotguns and old rifles. The three or four sorcerers fled, but one of them fell into the hands of the commission, was punished for his insolence, and in a few minutes a torrential shower refreshed the entire territory of the mission.

756 ●755 In concrete cases, when the sorcerer is required by a particular family, he establishes himself in the house of the sick man; he asks him a thousand questions regarding the sickness, the houses that he has frequented, the friends with whom he has drunk, the companions with whom he has played, and the things that he has earned. Then he lights his maize-husk cigar and smokes, blowing the smoke over the body of the patient, especially the affected part.

Then, depending on the greater or lesser seriousness of the illness, depending on the nature of the disease, whether it requires blows or joltings, which is the most likely, he delivers them so atrociously that they are likely to end the patient's life, and if not he is content with rubbing the affected part hard /151/ and sucking it with his mouth, extracting from the patient's body the worms which the rascal has hidden in his mouth (1).

[164]

1. In many cases worms can be found in the bodies of these Indians between the flesh and the skin. I myself, with the use of fenelina, have made worms as big as chickpeas come out of their bodies, without their having had any wound at all.

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755 Men sorcerers use in their cures, in addition to the cigar, the
756 tupicho. But what the tupicho consists of is difficult to determine. There are sorcerers who use for it a little round stone with some designs on it; according to what I saw in the San Pascual Mission, others use a long bone likewise bearing designs, and, as I saw in Caipipendi and other places, others make do with words alone. The value of the tupicho is not known, but the Indians have much fear of it. I could tell stories about this.

Sorceress Curers

756 There is no doubt about the existence of female curers and sorcereresses, who, like the men, are feared in the tribe, because it is easier for them to administer some slow or violent poison in drinks. They are designated by the name Cuña ipaye, sorceress (2).

> 2. I know several women who are curers and sorceresses at the same time; at least they are considered as such by the Indians of the tribe.

Generally these women are the daughters of sorcerers, but this does not prevent others from being one also. They cure sick men or women with wild herbs, tree bark, and roots which they dig out of the ground. They are in this case true curers, as are certain women among the whites.

756 There are others, and plenty of them; it can be said that
844 every old mother is one for her young daughters. They serve
759 as midwives; they help their daughters and other women in their deliveries. Some of them are so skilled that they are accepted by the women whom the Indians call ladies. During the time when I was living among the Chiriguano, I saw only three die in childbirth.

756 The only thing which is deplorable among these curers is the
279 use of Mbayachi, a poison that they administer with much dissimula-
682 tion, mixing it with chicha and giving it to persons whom they hate, immediately washing or hiding the gourd, glass, or cup in which they administered it to the patient.

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164 vira-vira. The tisane made from these flowers has salutary effects,
757 but it is not strong enough to bring about a radical cure, /288/ especially if the precaution of wrapping the child up after the potion is drunk is not taken (1).

1. Most effective for whooping cough is the use of petroleum. The child is anointed from his forehead to his belly and made to drink a few drops. In 1910 almost all of those whom I treated with petroleum got well.

164 Consumption, or tuberculosis, attacks men and women and appears in both sexes as a stomach-ache. This pain can be considered the beginning of the sickness, which usually appears after the age of 40, but in certain places it carries to the grave persons who have not yet reached the age of 20.

In the Santa Rosa mission this disease alone, in less than ten years, caused the death of more than 70 schoolgirls; at that time this mortality was attributed to the bad water there, but as it is found in other places where the water is excellent there must be another cause. For young people or adolescents it could not be the continual fires, because there are none in the schools.

164 The Chiriguano has no remedy for tuberculosis, and one who
754 gets it is resigned to death, because whether or not he attributes
755 everything to sorcery, he believes in it and in the poison in this case; hence the sick person goes for help to the sorcerer, who to get rid of the illness, without succeeding, uses atrocious and even immoral means when dealing with women (2).

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2. The missionary buys remedies from the apothecary to treat the Indians. These remedies are almost always repugnant. If the sick person does not drink it in the presence of the missionary, he will pour it out; he has more faith in the sorcerer.

Ee /216 cont./
754 They also sometimes believe that they are bewitched by the
177 Indians. A colonist, Gutierrez, flogged an Indian. The latter
bewitched him, so that he became ill. Inside his stomach it
C sounded like the croaking of a frog.
Ce The medicine men try to discover the bewitcher with smoke.
•755 I did not see how this was done. The bewitcher, if he or she is
754 discovered, is killed.
000 /217/ In the following I shall speak about the connection
of the medicine men with the great spirits.
Ee There seems to be no difference in the appearance and
755 the method of the medicine men among the Choroti and
756 Ashluslay and among the Chané and Chiriguano. It is the same
Ce sucking out of foreign objects that have entered the body through
[177] bewitchment. Among the latter the medicine men are more
secretive than among the former. Perhaps their contact with the
whites has had the effect that they themselves are beginning to
doubt their art.
Ee There is a difference, however, in the common remedies.
757 The first-named Indian tribes obtain their remedies, as a rule,
[171] from the vegetable kingdom. They boil decoctions of certain
Ee plants. The Chané and Chiriguano, on the other hand, except
[237] for certain plants, use animal remedies. Thus, on the Rio
Ce Itiyuro, the Chané use the fat of herons for swellings, wild pig
757 fat for fever, jaguar fat for pains in the bones, and toucan beaks
237 for female hemorrhages. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti use
the fat of the ostrich for chest pains, of the iguana lizard for
conjunctivitis, of the chicken for everything, and maize beer
for colds. I saw fat applied exclusively for external use.
Ce The Chané Indian is remarkable with regard to aseptic
752 treatment. I saw several times how they treat wounds in accordance
with a most modern method, namely, with boiled water. This
is different from the whites' use of pig excrement and the fresh
urine of human beings, along with salt, for the same purpose.
The reason that these Indians are familiar with such a modern
Ce method is undoubtedly their great cleanliness. They are used to
[515] washing themselves constantly. They probably hit upon the idea

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[844] come into the world. But, in observance of a custom largely prevalent among the Indians of South America, the husband pretends for several days to be lying in childbed, and then keeps an invalid diet!

●755 Illnesses are treated by medicine men, who by incantations and other
756 resorts of magic try to expel the evil.

764 After a death, the corpse is placed in a large earthenware jar, which
763 is put into a hole dug in the ground. According to what a Spanish-speaking Chiriguano Indian told me, it was formerly customary to sever, by incision, the spine of a dying person, in order to shorten his death agony. Before life was extinct, the body was thrust into a huge jar, into which also ornaments, weapons, food and drink were put, the mouth of the vessel then being carefully closed up with an earthenware platter. It was important that the lid was put on before the dying person had drawn his last breath. By doing this, it was thought that the soul of the dead [775] would for a time be held in confinement, so that it would not be able to work any harm on the living.[1] The jar was afterwards interred inside the dead person's hut.

181 With the exception of the Chané — a tribe on the same cultural level as the Chiriguano — the latter seem to me a people considerably superior to the neighbouring tribes, whether inhabiting the mountain regions or the Gran Chaco. Both the mountain- and the Chaco Indians are dirty and of uncleanly habits, whilst the Chiriguano on the contrary [515] are very observant of bodily cleanliness. For example, the Chiriguano women bathe every day, and often several times a day. Among the [834] Choroti, the girls are in the habit of living in loose sexual relations with a plurality of men, before marrying, whilst the Chiriguano girls, as a [171] rule, preserve their chastity intact until they marry. Also as regards material culture, the Chiriguano and the Chané are on a higher plane than their present-day neighbours. When compared with the ceramics of the [323] peoples of the Chaco, the maize-beer vessels, for instance, that are characteristic of the Chiriguano and the Chané, stand out as veritable show pieces.

181 Of old, the Chiriguano have a reputation for being a very warlike
648 nation. As early as in the time of the Incas, this tribe made a raid into ancient Peruvian territory,[2] and even as late as 1890 the Chiriguano

[1] Cf. Krickeberg (1), p. 134.
[2] Nordenskiöld (18).

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/34 cont./ most other Indians of South America, there is a professional physician who is charged with the treatment of the sick, this treatment in most cases consisting of sorcery among these Indians too. The physician attempts to dispel the evil by sucking out foreign objects which have penetrated the body of the bewitched sick person. In addition to such treatment, remedies are used among the Chiriguano and Chané, which, in addition to those made of plant substances, include the fat of various animals applied externally for different illnesses. The Chané treat wounds with boiling water.

Burial among the Chiriguano and Chané who live outside the missions is generally still done in urns, according to primordial custom. According to Nordenskiöld (149), the

149. Nord. 1, p. 208.

large pots in which chicha is prepared are also used as funeral urns, and another pot is used to close the urn. Often the dying person, even before being completely dead, or soon after death, is crammed into the urn in a squatting position. A calabash of water is placed with the dead person in the urn, which is buried within the house. Commonly the house, after the burial, is abandoned for some time, but is occupied again later. Such a funeral urn of the Chiriguano of the Caipipendi Valley is shown in a drawing by Erland Nordenskiöld (150).

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150. Nord. 1, Fig. 113.

Up to half of the urn, which is provided with a cover, is disenterred. Nordenskiöld's statement that the Chiriguano use the same pots which serve for the preparation of meals as funeral urns is significant. From that we can deduce that a funeral urn found in other regions might also have served, during the lifetime of the dead person buried in it, some other purpose related to the economy of those Indians.